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giving in a résumé what the Press has already published and in outlining in a general manner the scheme of our labors.

Three great problems have especially called for our consideration:

The first is that of the organization of the Court of International Justice. It appears to us necessary at the outset to set off sharply the place to be occupied by the new institution among the different bodies which together form the ensemble of international jurisdiction. It was a question of creating a court of justice truly permanent, directly accessible to the parties, and composed of magistrates who should be independent, chosen without regard to their nationality among persons held in the highest moral esteem and fulfilling the conditions required in their respective countries for the exercise of the highest judicial positions.

It is an existing and proved institution, the present Court of Arbitration at The Hague, which we have taken as the basis of the new organization, in the sense that we have deemed it wise to entrust to the members of this court the task of proceeding by national groups to the nomination of a restricted number of persons capable of fulfilling the functions of members of the court; and we have asked each national group, in order to secure the best advice in its choice, to consult in the respective countries the highest court of justice, the faculties and schools of law, the national academies, and the national sections of international academies devoted to the study of law.

Two names are to be chosen by each of these national groups without distinction as to nationality.

The final choice, however, is left to the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations, in such manner that the election of the members of the court can come about only through the joint action of the one with the other.

Moreover, we have adopted a series of provisions which on the one hand directs the selections toward giving representation to the great divisions of civilization and to the principal judicial systems of the world in such a way as to give the court a truly world-wide constitution, and which on the other hand provide suggestions in cases where accord is not established between the Council and the Assembly.

As regards the functioning of the Court, we are provided for the annual formation of a chamber of three judges, called to sit in cases of summary procedure when the parties demand it.

The second capital question upon which our attention was naturally centered was the competence of the court.

Our principal effort was directed toward two objectives: First, the realization of a system of obligatory adjudication in differences of a judicial nature, and by extension in all other differences so far as they may be covered by either general or special conventions between the parties. The declarations made and the engagements undertaken by the second Peace Conference, in 1907, served as the point of departure in this connection.

Next, we attempted to lay down rules of judicial interpretation which the judges should apply in the examination of cases submitted to them. The third point was the object of very particular consideration, namely, procedure before the court. We believe that we have

satisfactorily solved a rather large number of questions of this sort, notably as to the measures to be taken at the outset of certain cases, as to the intervention of third parties in disputes and as to the conditions under which judgments may be rendered by default.

If there be added to the provisions contained in the project two recommendations, the first for the methodical continuation of the work undertaken by the first Hague conferences for the advancement of international law; and, second, the creation of a High Court of International Justice to judge future crimes against public international law and the universal rights of peoples; and, finally, the recommendation for the early functioning of the Academy of International Law at The Hague, we shall then have a general view of the field in which our activity has taken place.

The reception which has been given us in the capital of Holland by Her Majesty the Queen, the many cordial attentions paid us by the Foreign Minister and the Vice-President of our committee, as well as by so many other persons and institutions whose names spring to my mind at this moment, impose upon us the pleasant duty of expressing here our feelings of deep gratitude. We do not doubt that the Council of the League of Nations will join with us in expressing in its turn its gratitude for the reception given its representatives. We express the wish that our stay upon Dutch soil may be fruitful for the well-being of the country which has so well received us, for the rapprochement of peoples toward international justice, and for the good of humanity.

MR. HARDING WRITES A LETTER

Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University, recently wrote to Mr. Harding, Republican candidate for President, pointing out that a conference of college and university executives and faculty members was about to be held in New York, a conference largely comprising scholars interested in the international policies of this country, particularly with reference to the association of this country with other nations in behalf of world peace. Dr. Schurman suggested that a message from Senator Harding on the subject would be welcomed. Accordingly, Senator Harding wrote the following reply. The letter is printed here as an illustration of that public sentiment strongly adverse to any "league to enforce peace."—THE EDITOR.

"MARION, OHIO, September 15, 1920.

"DR. JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN,
"President's House, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

"MY DEAR DR. SCHURMAN: Your letter of September 11 is before me, with its suggestion that a word of greeting to the conference of university people which you will hold on Saturday, September 18, might be acceptable. I am very glad to comply.

"The difference between our attitude toward the League of Nations and that of our opponents is easily stated. President Wilson has twice rejected the opportunity to secure ratification of the Peace Treaty with what the Senate agreed upon as safeguarding reservations, because he insists upon the original Article X as the very essence of the covenant. The Democratic platform indorses this attitude and the Democratic nominee

has unqualifiedly committed himself to it. We must in fairness to him assume that if he had the authority he would stand by this position. If he should be elected, indeed, we would have to assume that the country had given him a mandate to accomplish this.

"The Democratic nominee has declared 'in favor of going in' to the covenant the President brought back from Paris. I oppose going into that league. I favor participation in a world association of nations with an international court of justice, a tribunal that shall be governed by definite principles of international law. I favor a world association aiming at the practical expression of the conscience of nations planned to focus world opinion.

"I am opposed to an offensive and defensive alliance of powers seeking to dominate the rest of the world. Even the other great powers which were to have been associated with us in this proposed alliance were themselves hesitant about accepting it.

"I heartily favor an association of nations inspired by ideals of justice and fair dealing, rather than of power and self-interest. Such an association could and I believe would be potent in the effort to maintain peace. The Hague tribunal gives us the foundation of such an organization. Under the conditions now prevailing in the world, with the world fully realizing the awfulness of modern war, it is wholly possible to perfect The Hague tribunal so that its determinations shall be effective and accepted without surrender of national rights.

"I recognize that the world's peace is now to a great extent intertwined with the settlement of Versailles. From that settlement I would save all that is good and useful. An association of nations for purposes of conference and a world court with jurisdiction of justiciable questions would, I am confident, now be accepted by all nations.

"This plan, we have been repeatedly assured by European statesmen, would meet their approval. Mr. Lloyd-George has frankly expressed opinion that the League of Nations Covenant might well be changed for the better. Certainly it is our thought to improve, to save and build upon whatever is good rather than to abandon the good there is and repudiate the world's aspirations for peace.

"Viscount Gray has generously proposed that the Americans be intrusted with drafting a reconstruction scheme. It is apparent that the enlightened leadership of Europe wishes us to do this, and I should feel that to refuse would be a dereliction. As I view it, we have an opportunity to do a great service to the world if we will but undertake this effort which the world wishes us to undertake.

"On the other hand, I cannot but feel that for us to continue insistence upon a plan which has proved ineffective, upon which our own people cannot unite, and which the world recognizes as incapable of preserving peace, would be to make this country recreant to a service which we really aspire to render to mankind. The Republican Party will not place itself in such a position, nor will it surrender the supreme inheritance of national freedom and self-determination.

"Sincerely yours,

"WARREN G. HARDING."

AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Special Correspondence

FOUR IMPORTANT amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations have been suggested by the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish governments for consideration at the first meeting of the Assembly of the League, at Geneva, on November 15. Those proposals, which vary somewhat in form, but are virtually identical in purpose, are in one case accompanied by an explanation along the lines given below. They have been submitted to all States members of the League for consideration and require approval of the Council and a majority vote of the Assembly before they can become effective.

The first suggestion is made with the intention of strengthening the position of the Assembly by providing for a fixed annual meeting, to be held either at the time provided for in the rules of procedure or on a specific date, such as the second Monday in September. It is also proposed that, on the demand of ten members of the League, a special meeting of the Assembly shall be called at any time by the Secretary General at the seat of the League. These two amendments, it is contended, would give the Assembly the power necessary to enable the League permanently to maintain the authority which is required for the accomplishment of its mission.

The object of the second suggestion is to regularize the method of selecting the four non-permanent members of the Council by providing that the Assembly shall, after the first selections, name a new State each year to serve for a period of four years and not to be subject to re-election for the following period. This amendment is intended to secure successive representation on the Council of a large number of States, and at the same time, by making only one change in membership each year, to maintain the necessary continuity in the composition of the Council.

The third amendment proposes to omit the word "generally" from the following paragraph in Article XIII:

"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are *generally* suitable for submission to arbitration."

The purpose of this suggestion is to make the obligation to resort to arbitration more absolute and more precise.

The fourth amendment concerns the economic blockade. It would permit the Council to authorize a State, in the vicinity of another State against which the blockade has been enforced, to maintain a certain degree of intercourse with the covenant-breaking State, provided that such action is considered by the Council to be necessary to prevent the blockaded State from threatening or attacking its neighbor. It is held that, as the obligation to sever all economic and financial relations with the covenant-breaking State is at present automatic, it would